

K C. A.
A
SERMON

Preach'd at
EDINBURGH

On Tuesday the
XXX. of January

M. DCC. XI.

Being the

ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

MARTYRDOM

OF
K. Charles I.

By One of the Suffering Clergy there.
M. Andrew Cant, an Episcopal Clergyman at Edin.

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SERMON

EDINBURGH

ERRATA sic corrige.

Page 1: Line 17. for Obedience, read Ordinance. P. 2. L. 17. for is, r. was. P. 3. L. 26. for Punishment, r. temporal Punishment. P. 4. L. 1. for held, r. hold, L. 32. for said, r. sad, L. 35. for Pole, r. Pale, L. 36. for more diabolical, r. more than diabolical. P. 9. L. 30. for anticipate, r. anticipate. P. 12. marg. for Epist. ad Damascum, r. Epist. ad Damasum. P. 14. L. 16. for Considerations, r. Consideration.

Some smaller Errors are remitted to the Discretion of the Reader.

46. 11. 2. 1111.



To the Right Honourable

John, Earl of Wigton,
Lord Fleeming and Cumbernauld, &c.

My LORD,

I Have presum'd to Address the following Sermon (of which you were pleas'd to be an attentive Hearer,) to your Lordship, for Protection; which I thought my Duty, not only upon the Account of your Quality, as a Noble Peer, but especially for the devout and signal Gravity wherewith you are pleased both to Grace and Influence the small Meeting of these worthy Gentlemen and Citizens, to whom I am sometimes permitted to Preach.

It was not my Business, on that late Fast, to treat of *Government*, and the Measures of it, either as a *Statesman* or *Lawyer*, being an utter Stranger to the Abilities and Learning of Both, in that Matter; but only to speak of the Deference and Subjection due to it, as it is plainly contain'd in the Sacred Oracles: In which, if I be found mistaken, I am most willing to be rectify'd by a better Judgment, provided it be done without railing Accusation, and in the Words of Truth and Soberness.

I suppose, also, that there are but few, either so Malicious or Senseless, as to think any Part of

my small Discourse calculated for Flattery to any that have Power to bestow Marks of Favour, since my known Principles, with respect to Church-Government, make me incapable of any Post or Preferment under the present Establishment.

All that I said then, on the Head of *Subjection*, was only design'd to Heighten the Villany and Parricide committed on the Sacred Person of the *Royal Martyr* of that Day; and to Confirm my ordinary Hearers in their Loyal Principles, and in an utter Detestation of that Crime, and of all such Opinions as have a Tendency to *REBELLION*; and that, I think, ought to be justified and esteemed a dutiful Practice, in any Member of the *Commonwealth*.

By this Handle I know it is taken, by the unbiass'd and well-dispos'd; some of which have signified their Desire to have it published.

My Lord, I know the congenial Sweetness of your Temper, will easily incline you to forgive this Interruption, and favourably to construct this small Proof of my sincere Respects, in prefixing your Name to this Paper.

May all the Circumstances of Happiness, that your Heart can wish in this World, attend your Person, your most Vertuous and truly Noble Lady; your Honourable Family and Estate, and eternal Happiness be your Portion in the World to come: Which is the earnest Desire and hearty Prayer of,

(My LORD,)

Your Lordship's Dutiful, Affectionate, Obedient
and Faithful humble Servant,

A. C.

Romans XIII 2.

And They that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.

IF Men would but ingenuously confess, as it really is, that the Holy Ghost or (which is the same Thing upon the Matter) that the blessed Apostle *here*, under his immediate Influences, *meaneth* as he *speaketh*; it would easily appear, that the counteracting of the Duty that is so peremptorily press'd in the present Passage, were downright *Disobedience* and *Refractoriness*, attended with the greatest Obstinacy, and liable to the highest Punishment.

It is a Hundred to One, (which is great Odds) but this Portion of holy Writ may run the Hazard of being call'd *Malignant* by some sort of People; because (like a brazen Wall) it stands inflexible to any Compliance with the violent *Resistance* or *Murder* of Sovereign Princes: And it is worthy to be observ'd, that the inspired Apostle, guided by the Spirit of all Truth, not only requireth a bodily Subjection, which sometimes may be found in Persons that are rebellious, ready to resist lawful Sovereigns, and are obnoxious to God's Judgments for that Crime; but a Submission of the Soul also, as to a Spark of God's own Authority, and a divine Obedience and Institution: For if this inward Disposition be not first firmly rooted in the Mind, the outward Performance will fail upon every Occasion, and Then there must be an outward Subjection, in obeying the lawful Command of our lawful Superiors: And if it shall happen, that Sovereign Princes or their Delegates, (by Virtue of their Authority) enjoin things contrary to the Law of Heaven, it is better in that Case, to obey God than Man; only there must be a peaceable and calm Acquiescence in the severest Penalties annex'd to the Refusal: So the Prophet *Daniel* behaved, when there was a sinful Edict sign'd

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by

by King *Darius*, and published by his Authority, discharging the Invocation of God for Thirty Days Space ; though he could not in Conscience comply with the Contents of it, yet he humbly and meekly yielded to the Punishment, without making Use of any Means or Methods for raising Force of Arms against that King in his own Defence, even when the Character he bore in the Realm, might have given him fair Hopes of making a Party : So, that if a Prince's Command be lawful, the Subject must obey ; and if it be not so, he may not rebel, but submit to the Punishment.

It is of great Importance in this Matter, to consider, that the Words of the Text and Context were spoken in the Reign of *Nero*, who, besides that he was a Heathen, he was a bloody Persecutor and a Tyrant, and thought himself obliged, (no doubt) in persecuting the End of his Office, to raze and destroy the Christians ; (for both the *Senatorian* Laws formerly, and the *Imperial* Statutes then, did strictly forbid the setting up of new Religions, as a thing which is supposed to have a Tendency to the Disturbance of the State) and yet, even the Monster *Nero*, is not excepted by our blessed Apostle, from the Tribute of *Subjection*. If these Apostolic Documents had been delivered in the Reign of such a pious, clement Prince, as our King *Charles I.* (the Royal Martyr of this Day) it might have been thought, that the Virtue of the Person claim'd the Deference of Subjection, and not the Character of the Prince ; and that it was damnable to resist, because he was *Good*, and not because he was *Supream* ; because he was the nursing Father of the Church, and not because he was the ruling Father of the Country ; and therefore, it was a happy Coincidence (as a pregnant Author saith) to secure the Authority of the Magistrate, which answereth the most specious Pretexts of Rebellion. If Religion be pretended, a Heathen must not be resisted ; and if Tyranny be pretended, it is Damnation to oppose a *Nero* : And certainly, in the Instance of this tragical Day, we may learn by a dear-bought Experience, that it is better to endure any Inconveniences in a settled Government, than to endeavour *violent* Alterations.

Only, before I engage in the present Argument, I must take Notice, that some have strained hard, to have that which we have here rendered, to receive *Damnation*, to signify no more, than that Rebels

or

or Resisters shall receive Temporal Punishment, which the Mag^tstrates may inflict, especially because of the following Words, *tha Rulers are a Terror to evil Works*; and it must be owned, that sometimes the Vocabule in the Original is applied to Sentences of Temporal Punishments upon Malefactors: So one of the Thieves upon the Cross with our B. Lord, said to the other, *Thou art in the same Condemnation*, (or Judgment, as the same Word here used doth imply) but at other Times it signifieth *Divine and Eternal Punishment*; so in St. Paul's Apology against *Tertullus* the Orator, who accused him of Sedition, it is said he reasoned of Righteousness, Temperance and the Judgment to come; and so in several other Places. So that if that Argument were of any Force, that in this Text, there were no more to be understood but a Temporal Punishment, to be inflicted upon Resisters by the Magistrate, then (as a modern, learned Annotator ingeniously observeth) it would conclude also first, That no other criminal Action punishable by the Magistrate were obnoxious to any more than Temporal Punishment: So that when Thieves, Robbers, Murtherers and other scelerous Offenders, were hang'd, they should not also be damn'd, whatever their Crime were. 2^{dly}. If it signified no more here but Temporal Punishment, than if the Rebels or Resisters should happen to escape the Hands of publick Justice by Flight, so that the Magistrate could not overtake them; then were they to escape Scotfree, without any Punishment at all, either here or hereafter. But then, 3^{dly}. It is concluded in the 5th Verse of this Chap: that, Christians must not only be subject for *Wrath*, as it is interpreted Punishment, but also for *Conscience Sake*, and then they that resist must receive something more than that, viz. Eternal Punishment, because by that means, they are bound over to that Punishment that is due to an accusing Conscience, and to a Sin that is *damning*, if it is not speedily repented of.

Dr. Hammond.

While St. Paul saith, That Government, and the Dominion of the higher Powers, is of God & ordained by God; & that therefore the Controulers of it are to be so signally punished. There want not some that say, *That the Original of Government is from the People, and that the Authority which Kings and Sovereign Princes are vested with, is derived from them, and that by Way of Bargain and Compact, betwixt the Rulers and their Subjects.* I

I should be glad to understand, from them that held this Opinion, and they would do the World a Favour, to let us know,
 1. The Day and Date of this Contract, the Time and Place where this Stripulation was transacted. 2. Whether all Persons without Difference of Age, Sex, Condition, or any other Respect whatsoever, were promiscuously admitted into the Concert. And, 3. If any were excluded, who did exclude them, and by what Authority, and who gave them that Authority? And, 4. Where, and in what Repository that fundamental Charter is lodged, for satisfying all Parties concerned? I suppose it would puzzle the ablest of them all, that flatter themselves with that *Hypothesis* to give plain, full, free and satisfactory Answers, to these and such other Interrogatories, as the Nature of the Subject might allow. And besides, if the Matter were so, that the Power of Government were from the People, then St. Paul should not have given the present Charge enforce'd with such a Certification to *Christian* Subjects, but to all Princes, whether Christian or Heathen, to assure *them*, that if *They* should dare to offend or resist, *Their Sovereign Lords, the People*, when they asserted their original Power or reserved Liberties, that *ipso facto*, they might expect the Judgment of God to fall upon them, as the just Punishment of their Offence. But he saith, *There is no Power but of God, and the Powers that be, are ordained of God, and they that resist, resist the Ordinance of God.* The Sum and Substance of all which seemeth to me to be,

That where the Commands of our Sovereign Princes and lawful Governors are allowable and honest, they are to be obey'd readily, and if they are not so (but contrary to the Laws of Heaven) we must undergo the Inconveniences of not obeying with Christian Fortitude, without Resentment or carnal Thought of resisting their Authority by Violence, or conspiring against their Persons, State or Dignity. And if this Catholic, Apostolic Doctrine, had been always as firmly received, as it is fairly proposed, the Occasion of the said Solemnity of this Day had been effectually prevented.

We live in an unhappy and prophane Age, wherein a Parcel of Monsters, within the Pole of the reformed *Christian* Church, take the impudent & more diabolical Boldness, to mock at revealed Religion, particularly, *The Mystery of the Holy Incarnation, the Nativity, Life, Death,*

Death, and Resurrection of our Blessed Lord and Saviour, and then it's no Wonder that St. Paul's nervous Injunctions, and positive Exhortations to Loyalty should be trampled upon with the rest, and contemptuously called the Doctrine of the *Bow-string*. And that they that advance it, should get no better Names, than a certain Sort of Persons, that would bubble Mankind into a State of *Slavery* by the Artifices of *Priest-craft*. But this solid Doctrine, so much maligned, I hope will be plainly establish'd, if we consider (which I propose as the Method of this short Discourse.) 1st. The Instructions and Behaviour of the ancient Jewish Church, with Respect to this Matter. 2^{dly}. The express Doctrine of our B. Lord, and his Holy Apostles. 3^{dly}. The Writings of the ancient Fathers in the pure and primitive Ages, and of the Sentiments of the Learned, since the Reformation from Popish Errors. And then I shall make some Improvement of the Subject, with special regard to this mournful *Anniversary*.

First, If we consider the *Jewish* State and Oeconomy of the Church, under the *Old Testament* Administration, the Duty and Allegiance of Subjects to their Kings and Sovereign Princes, was sacred and inviolable; for there we are told, that it is not fit to be said to Kings, *Ye are wicked*, nor to Princes, *you are ungodly*. There, saith *Solomon*, that was fam'd far and near, for that matchless Wisdom, inspired into his Mind by God, the Fountain of Wisdom, *I counsel thee to keep the King's Commandment; and that in Regard of the Oath of God. Where the Word of a King is, there is Power, and who may say unto him, What dost thou? i.e. Who hath any Authority to call him to an Account of this Administration? None but God Himself, for to allow the People (either Collective or Representative is to make them, Accusers, Judges and Executioners all in their own Cause, and that against their Sovereign too, which was the State of the cursed High Court of Justice.) And next there is no Man that can attempt it with Safety, because they cannot possibly escape Punishment either here or hereafter, for These that resist shall receive, &c.* When the Prophet *Samuel* told the People that imploy'd him to ask them a King from God, after the Fashion of the Nations that were round about them, how he would enslave their Children,

Children, and impropriet, at least transfer, the Right of their Fields, Vineyards and Oliveyards, (and so forth) to his Servants, and a great many other Acts arbitrary and oppressive; he doth not mean, that their King could warrantably do so, for when *Moses* in *Deuteron. xvii.* describeth the Qualities of a King of *Israel*, he sheweth, that he is to be both Pious and Righteous, and neither to gratify his Avarice nor Luxury: But his Meaning was, that if their King should happen to degenerate, into such, unjustifiable Practices, as the Kings of other Nations often did, they must neither offer to cast off his Government, nor disturb his Reign, much less murder his Person. No, there is nothing left them, but Prayers and Tears, *Ye shall cry to the Lord in that Day.* And then we see, that even upon these Terms, they were still willing to have their Nation *Neighbour-like* under the Scheme of Royal Government, and therefore God said to the Prophet, Hearken to their Voice and make them a King. Neither is it to be supposed, (however he was displeased with their Humour) that God granted them a King, as a Thing simply evil in it self, but as a *Mercy* to them, and a *Munition* to their Country; for in the following Ch. where he giveth *Samuel* Instructions about his Inauguration, he saith, *To Morrow about this time; I will send thee a Man out of the Land of Benjamin, and thou shalt anoint him to be Captain over my People, Israel, and he shall save my People out of the Hand of the Philistines, for I have looked upon my People, their Cry is come unto me, &c.* To make a short Account of this whole Matter, with respect to the Old Test. first, for the Kingdom of the Ten Tribes, it was founded in Rebellion, and was subsisted by Rebellions, Murthers, and sanguinary Practices, The whole Tract of their *Monarchs* was wicked, and having an ill Title to their Government, they were always jealous of their Subjects, lest they should have returned to their Duty to the Lineal Succession of *K. David*, and so forc'd to compound with 'em, and allow them a large Share in the Sovereignty, which made the People indifferent to return to the Race of *David*, because they were absolute Monarchs, and manag'd their Government with a true Air of Majesty, And then for the *Davidic Line*, some of them were eminent pious Princes (as we have it in the Record of *H. Writ*) such as *Asah*, and *Amaziab*, and *Hezekiab*, and *Josiah* and several others, and still they maintained

tained the Honour of their *Character*, and did not sneak or stoop meanly to court the *Populace*, as if their Dignity had depended upon their Caprice. There were likewise others of that same Royal Family, that were scandalous for notour Wickedness, such as *Foram* and *Abaz*, but especially unfortunate *Manasses*, who with Respect to Religion sinned horribly, and became an Idolater, and in regard of Civil Justice, was guilty of monstrous Cruelties, and yet in all their *Hist*: we find nothing of their People's Rebellion, nor any Sort of Resistance by Violence. Now, it is not to be supposed, but there were many wise Men in *Judah*, that would not willingly have betrayed their Liberties, and suffered their Nation to have been brought upon the Brink of Ruin and Destruction, if by any reasonable *Consequence* drawn from their Law, and the Precepts, by which they were governed; they could have found it warrantable, to resist the bad or tyrannical Government of those Princes, by Force of Arms. But as we see, that when *David* himself lived in the Quality of a Subject, he would not dip his Hands in *R. Blood*, but when he had *K. Saul* at a Disadvantage, and asleep in the Camp, and was desired by *Abishai* to allow him to dispatch him, he answered, *Who can stretch forth his Hand, against the Lords Anointed, and be guiltless: Either the Lord will smite him, or his Day will come to die, or he will go down to Battle, and the Lord forbid, that I, &c.* So likewise the Jews in these evil Reigns, waited upon God for Deliverance, with Patience, and Prayers, and Penitence, and offered not to extricate themselves from their incumbent Grievances, by Methods of Violence. But, let us enquire into the

Second Place, whether our blessed Lord, at His coming, exempted his Disciples from their Duty, either to God or Man, or granted them further Latitude and Scope to range out of the paved Road, than they had enjoyed in the Days of *Moses* and the Prophets: He saith Himself, *He came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfill it*; Particularly with Respect to Government and Dominion, He did not once, or only one manner of Way, acknowledge the Power, and Jurisdiction, of the Rulers, that then were, and acquiesce in it as Legitimate & Obligatory to Obedience in the Subjects, but at diverse Times in diverse Manners, When his Disciples began to contend among themselves,

selves for Preference, He interposed this Argument to baffle that Itch
 of Ambition, *The Kings of the Gentiles exercise Lordship over them,*
and they that exercise Authority upon them are called Benefactors ;
but ye shall not be so. Whereby He plainly implied, That the
 Princes of the Nations were cloathed with a down-right *Domination*
 over them, and not engaged in any *Subserviency* to them, or *Truck-*
ling under them. And when the *Pharisees* try'd Him, insidiously,
 (with a Design to have rendered Him obnoxious to the Govern-
 ment) about paying Tribute to the *Roman* Emperor, Why ? said
 He, *Give to Cesar the Things that are Cesar's.* And when the Col-
 lectors of the Tribute at *Capernaum*, asked his Disciples, Whether
 their Master had the Freedom to pay the Subsidy, that was laid
 upon the Leiges for defraying publick Burdens ? St. Peter answered
 them affirmatively ; *And when he was come into the*
 Matth. 17. *House*, where our blessed Lord was, He prevented him,
 and asked his Opinion, *Simon ? What thinkest thou ?*
of whom do the Kings of the Earth ask Custom ? of their own or of Stran-
gers ? And as he answered, *of Strangers ;* He replied, *then are the*
Children free ; and immediately He addeth, *Left we offend, go to the Sea*
and cast a Hook, &c. left by His Example, He should have encouraged
 the Subjects to any Manner of Undutifulness to the *superior* Powers,
 He was at the Expence of a Miracle to find out the Money. If it is to
 be understood of the *Temple-Tribute* (as some will have it) which
 every Native *Jew* was bound to pay, He came to fulfil all *Righte-*
ousness, and give Obedience to the Law ; But if it is to be understood
 of any *Tax* imposed by the Power and Command of the *Roman*
 Emperor (as others will have it) then it giveth the full *Assent* to
 the Performance. It was not done to a good, meek and gracious
 Prince, but to *Tiberius*, eminent for Wickedness, *i. e.* both for
Usurpation of the Government, and the bad Administration of his
 Power, which in Matter of Fact, plainly sheweth, That the Doctrine
 which He instituted, and had given in Commission to His Disciples
 to Preach and Dispense throughout all the World, was not calcu-
 late for the Subversion of States, nor any Alteration or Disturbance
 of these Schemes and Models of Civil Government which had then
 taken Place. His *Practice* likewise was of a piece with His Doctrine ;
 for He submitted to all that was over him, *Herod, Pontius Pilate,*
Annas

Annas and Caiaphas, and to an unjust Sentence of Death pronounced upon Himself. And this Self-same Doctrine His blessed Apostles received, and imparted to the World, *pure and incorrupted*: So St. *Peter* in his Catholic Epistle written to the *Christianiz'd Jews*, scatter'd into several Corners and Countries; he saith, *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man, (or to every Principality or Magistracy of Man,) for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as Supreme, or unto Governours, as to them that are sent by Him, for the Punishment of evil Doers, and for the Praise of them that do well.* I have had occasion formerly, upon this Day of Fasting and Mourning, to consider who this *King* was, to whom the Submission is required: That Epistle being dated from *Babylon*, literally taken, (and not *Rome* the Mistical *Babylon*, as some have mistaken it) it both related to the King of the *Parthians*, to whom he requireth Duty and Obedience to be paid, by all the *Christians* of the several Provinces of that Country. And likewise, in so far as the same Epistle is address'd to the Converts of the Provinces of *Asia*, *Bythinia*, *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*. It had respect also to the *Roman* Emperor *Nero*; such an Arch-Tyrant, that his Name, by the common Custom and Approbation of all Ages since, hath been applied to such Princes as have been most eminent for all Barbarities. So that, whether it be understood of the *Parthian* King, or the *Roman* Emperor, or any other Governor remarkable for Cruelty. St. *Peter* determineth, That Loyalty and Subjection is due: And in his Progress in the same Epistle, with Magisterial and Apostolic Authority, he joyneth these Two together, *Fear God, Honour the King*: And our Apostle likewise in this Passage, where our Text lieth, giveth the Reason, why we are to be subject to higher Powers, *viz. Because the Powers that be, are ordained of God*; and from thence inferreth, *That they that resist shall receive, &c.* And finally, to anticipate and prevent such as might have been apt to say, That he had commanded this Subjection only, lest such as payed it not, should smart under the Resentment of the Magistrate, he tells, as I said before, it must be done, not only for *Wrath*, but for *Conscience sake*; and then afterward subjoyneth, *For this Cause pay ye Tribute also*; and then, *Render to all their Due; Custom, to whom Custom; Tribute, to whom Tribute; Fear, to whom Fear; and Honour, to whom Honour.*

This is an Abridgment of the Doctrin of Loyalty, delivered by these Two great *Evangelic-Teachers*, to the One of whom our blessed Lord committed the *Apostulate* of the *Jews*, and to the other that of the *Gentiles*. I shall only add to these the Apostle *St. Jude*, who in his short and smart *Epistle* giveth a most ingenious and suitable Description of such Men as believed it to be a part of their *Saintship*, to *speak evil of Dignities, and despise Dominions*; whose Design was like that of *Corah* and his Complices, which was to share the Government amongst themselves, and set up for being the *Keepers of the Liberties of the People*, which could not possibly be done, as long as *Moses* was a King in *Jeshurun*. That which they plainly insinuated, in managing that obstreperous Insurrection, was, That *Moses* was guilty of Malverſe in adminiſtring the Power committed to him, and that therefore it was now devolved again into the Hands of the *People*, who were to take him to Task for his Behaviour. And this ſeemeth to hint at Two Principles, by which they propoſed to defend themſelves, from the Charge of ſo dapper and malapart a Piece of Insolence, *viz.* First, That Liberty and Right to Power, is ſo inherent in the People, that it cannot be taken from them. And, next, That in caſe of Ineroachment upon this Liberty, the People may reſume the Exerciſe of that Power, which they have conferred, and puniſh thoſe that have miſcarried in the Management. And perhaps they were the firſt in the World that ever entred this *Plea*; and it had been both happy and honourable for this Iſland, that *Corah* and his Associates had not found any *Proſelytes* in it (how ſmall their Credit is of having ſuch Patrons, let them ſee to it): And I am ſure, that for the *Principle* it ſelf, *That People may Chaiſtiſe their Princes, for any* (either real, but eſpecially imaginary) *Miſdemeanor at their pleaſure*; It ſeemeth to be moſt deſtructive to all Civil Societies; becauſe, on theſe Terms, it may be done upon all Occaſions, whenſoever the Spirit of Faction and Sedition doth prevail, as the Murmurings and Mutinies which uſhered in the Tragedy of this Day, ſufficiently proves. Having taken this ſmall *Taſte* of the expreſs Doctrin of our Bleſſed Lord and His Holy Apoſtles, it will not be amiſs, in the

Third Place, To take a brief Review of the Documents of ſome of the Primitive Fathers and Grand Luminaries of the Christian Church

Church, that it may appear how much they are of a Piece with the Contents of the Gospel : And in this, I shall only glance at the Testimonies of these very few, under my Hand at this present Time. S. *Tertullian*, in his *Apology* for the *Cap. xxx. Christians* against the *Gentiles*, saith to this Purpose, *That the Emperor had his Dominion and Imperial Dignity from the same Author, from whom he had his Life, before he was an Emperor.* * Which seemeth plain to be the same thing which St. *Ireneus* (who flourished towards the End of the Second Century) had said long before, (and that in the very like, and almost the same Words) For after he hath affirmed *G O D* to be the Author of Government, not the *People*, nor the *Devil* (for he lied manifestly to our blessed Lord, when he tempted Him in the Wilderness, and shewing him the Kingdoms of the World, impudently said, *All these Things will I give thee*) that blessed Martyr addeth to this Purpose,

† *That Kings are constituted and appointed by the Power and Providence of the same God by which Men are born.* But then *Tertullian* proceedeth in the same Chapter (as may be seen) “ We, viz. *Christians*, al-

Lib. 5. cont.
hær. fol. mi-
hi 1243.

ways pray in behalf of our *Emperors*, for the *Length* of their Lives, the *Security* of their Empire, the *Safety* of their Houses, the *Success* of their Arms, the *Fidelity* of their Senate, the *Probity* of their People, the *Quiet* and *Tranquility* of the World, and for all things that either *Cæsar* or the Heart of Man can wish. And lest some unhappy seditious Sectarian might alledge, That the *Christians* then had flatter'd the *Heathen* Emperors, that they might the better avoid the Dint of their Resentments, which still would have been as much as, they *did* not, because they *durst* not resist ; in the very next Chapter of the same *Apology*, he sheweth the true Principles upon which the Church put up these loyal Prayers ; viz. *First*, Because of our blessed Lord's Gospel-precept, *To pray for our Persecutors* ; and the Emperors that then reigned, were their bloody Enemies. And next, Because that the blessed Apostle enjoyneth,

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tha:

* Inde est Imperator, unde est Homo, antequam Imperator inde potestas unde & Spiritus.

† Cujus enim jussu Homines nascuntur, hujus jussu & Regis constituuntur.

that *Prayers, Supplications* and *Intercessions* be made for all Men, particularly *Kings* and all in Authority: And all this, altho' (as he saith elsewhere) the Christians were mingled in powerful Numbers in their Cities, Villages, Castles and Armies; and so wanted not

competent Force to have opposed and coerced the Fury of their Enemies. Again, St. *Augustin*, after he hath
De Civit. Dei. l. v. c. xix. aggrandiz'd the Cruelty and Luxury of wicked *Nero*, he addeth, * " That the Power of Government was not

" given to such as he, but by God's special Provi-
 " dence, when the State of human Affairs seemeth to call for such
 " Lords and Governours. And the same Author, in
Chap. xxi. a following Chapter of the same Book, saith, " † The
 " same God gave the Right of Government to *Marius*,

" (who was a cruel Emperor) who gave it to *Caius Cæsar* (that was
 " *Clement*) He that gave Imperial Power to *Augustus*, gave it also
 " to *Nero*; He that bestowed it upon the Two *Vespasians*, the Fa-
 " ther and Son, the sweetest Emperors, gave it also to *Domitian*:
 " And, to save the Trouble of a compleat Enumeration, He that
 " bestowed that Dignity upon Christian *Constantine*, bestow'd it al-
 " so upon *Julian* the Apostate. By all which, that great Light of
 the Church implieth, that the same *Subjection, Fidelity* and *Defer-*
Cruel and Clement, the Harsh and Severe, as well as the Mild. And

to add no more, St. *Jerome*, when he mentioneth *Ge-*
Epist. ad daliah, (whom only *Nebuchadnezzar*, the victorious
Damascum. Monarch of *Babylon*, appointed Ruler over the Remnant
 of *Judah* that were left in their Country, after the Bo-

dy of the People were carried into Captivity) he calleth *Ismael*
 the Son of *Nethaniab*, who treacherously slew him, * *The Murderer*
of his Country: And so it may be easily conjectured, by what Names
 of Infamy that holy Father (had he lived to hear of them) would
 have called these bloody barbarous *Regicides*, that murder'd the Roy-
 al

* *Etiam talibus tamen dominandi potestas non datur nisi summi Dei provi-*
dentia quando res humanas judicat talibus Dominis dignas.

† *Qui Mario & quæ sequuntur.*

* *Patriæ Patricida.*

al Martyr of this Day (who possess'd his Throne and sacred Dignity by the Right of an incomparable Tract of Succession from his illustrious Ancestors) and that by such a nefarious Crime and ignominious Death. And,

To come downwards; This evident Christian Doctrine of *Subjection* to our lawful Princes, is sufficiently attested by the famous Church of *England* (Reformed from all *Popish* Errors) by the Contents of her xxxix *Articles*, the Doctrine of her *Homilies*, the Doctrine of her *Liturgy*; in the *Morning* and *Evening Service* whereof, for every Day, Almighty God is said to be *the only Ruler of Princes*, excluding all Pretence of Superiority, either of *Pope* or *Populace*; By the *Censures* of their Universities, which, with great Learning and just Severity, have animadverted upon the Ignorant and Ill-advised, that have offer'd to convell the plain Gospel-Truth now before us, and by the Opinions of her eminent Divines, whose learned Pens and Tongues, (in Spite of all the vain Pretences of empty Zealots) have proven both the greatest Ornament and Bulwark to our *Holy Religion*, whose worthy Steps I own to have traced in this Matter: And because it would be a Task of far longer Performance, than the few appointed Minutes for such a Discourse as this can allow to say all, or the most part to this purpose, I shall in this Place, only mention the Opinion of the late worthy and pious Author of the *Christian Life*, (a Book in the Possession, and in the just Esteem of many) who, in a Sermon of his, upon the head of *Subjection*, saith, "That every Man knoweth, or might know, if he ^{Serm.} were not wanting to himself, that the King is Vicegerent of his ^{July 26.} God; and being so, the *Subject* is indispensibly obliged by all the ^{1685.} Tyes of Reason and Religion, to submit to his Will, to reverence his Person, and bow to his Authority, and that he cannot lift up his Hand against him, without fighting against God Himself; (and in another Passage) we are I to set up for a publick Patron of Wickedness, I hardly know a Villany in Nature so black and monstrous, which I could not more plausibly recommend to Men's Reason and Conscience, than that of *Resistance* against lawful Authority; which is such a Complication of Wickedness, such a loathsome Mixture of hellish Ingredients, as is enough to nauseate any Conscience but a Devil's. In a Word, it is rational to think, that all the judi-

ous Reformed will agree, that if it once be admitted, that it is lawful for private Men injured (or supposed to be so) by the Magistrate, to resist him forcibly, all Places will be forthwith filled with Tumults, no Laws or Judicatories will have any Authority; for there is no Man that is not inclined to favour himself.

Upon the whole Matter, I suppose there is no Body of sound Reason but must own, that they that take *Governors* and *Rulers* to have their Authority and Dignity from God, and that it is not lawful to resist them violently upon any Pretence whatsoever, are like to prove as sound Christians, as faithful Subjects, as charitable Neighbours, and as candidly Zealous for the Honour and Interest of their Country, as any that suppose the Original of Power to be lodg'd in the People, and think that they may resist, and judge, and depose their Princes when they think fit; for which, I believe it will not be easy to find either Law or Gospel.

- 2.1. *Upon Just Considerations*, of what hath been said hitherto, it may be asked, *First*, If no *Resistance* is allowed by the System of *Gospel Doctrine*, which way are Subjects to behave to their Superiours, if they shall happen to command Things not lawful nor just? Why,
- A. as I glanced at it a little before, as we are to obey them in Things lawful with Frankness and Activity, so we are to decline their unlawful Commands, without *Repugnancy*. If we consult Flesh and Blood only, the Matter looketh imprestable; (and such are all the distinguishing Duties of *Christianity*;) and, therefore wise *Solomon* saith, *Trust in the Lord with all thy Heart; and lean not* Prov. iii. *to thine own understanding*: And he that is wiser than *Solomon*, saith, *If any Man will come after Me, let him deny himself, &c.* And we must raise our Thoughts to the Height of that Beatitude which our Blessed Lord's own Mouth hath given assurance of, to all such as will be governed by Him. *Blessed are they that are persecuted for Righteousness sake.*

- 2.2. But yet it may be asked, whether this Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* obligeth us to Sacrifice our *Liberties* and *Properties* or our Lives, &c. to the Sword of a Savage and Tyrannical Prince, and stand still as unmoveable Rocks or Statues, and submit to Destruction with Consent? Why certainly good Men want not defensive Arms, against the Insults of their most formidable Oppressors, which do not infringe our *Apo-*
stles

ables Prescription, if they be duely and dutifully managed ; for, (1) if they either cannot possibly or conveniently withdraw themselves from approaching Ruin, which is an Expedient proposed by our Lord, *if ye be persecuted in one City flee to another* : Then there may be (2.) regular Appeals made from the Benches of Subordinate Governours to the Throne it self. So *St. Paul* behaved in his own Cause ; for when he understood that the malicious *Jews* had conspired to murther him, and consider'd that *Festus*, (then) *Roman Deputie of Judea*, had power to Judge, and either condemn or set him free, if he that was the Prisoner had not entred his Appeal, he presently fell upon that Remedy of Law, after which, the Governour, at his utmost Peril, was oblig'd to guard him against the *Jewish Fury*, and convey him safely to *Rome*, where the Providence of God found means to deliver him, *out of the Mouth of the Lyon*, and to give him an opportunity to preach the Gospel there, where he failed not to make *Profelites*, even within the Walls of that Heathen Court : And, *besides*, Sovereign Princes have commonly *brave* and *large Spirits*, and so are ready to welcome such kind of Applications, because the acceptance of them rendereth themselves popular and gracious in the esteem of their-Subjects. But next to Appeals. *Secondly*, Petitions managed prudently, (and not in a Tumultuary manner) may prove effectual for *Security*. So the business of the *Primitive Christians*; who were invidiously represented as dangerous Enemies to Kings and Emperors, (even as our Lord Himself was accused for perverting the Nation; and *St. Paul* for moving of Sedition); I say, the business of the *Primitive Christians* was not without Success, upon the Apologies and Petitions that were made for them, and sometimes by a favourable Providence, prov'd means to open the Eyes and soften the Hearts of the Princes to whom they have been offered, to the Revocation of such Edicts as have been issued for their Persecution. And, in a word, *Thirdly*, There is nothing more effectual to ward the blow of this kind of Tyranny and Oppression, than for People to penetrate by due scrutiny into their own Botoms, and to enquire into the Secret Causes of God's displeasure, which have provoked Him in His Justice, to raise up *Princes* to be their *Plagues*, instead of *making their Officers Peace, and their Exactors Righteousness*. And when they have found

out

out these (whether they consist in Coldness in Devotion, a Tract of Immorality, a down-right Stupidity and Insensibleness of all Virtue and Religion, &c.) *To turn again, as the Prophet said, to the Lord their God, to lift up their Hearts to God, with their Hands to the Heavens, to put away the evil of their doings: And, (as the Apostle,) To cleanse their Hands, and purify their Hearts.* These are Methods that clash not with *Subjection*, and as long as these can be used, there is no place for *Rebellion*; therefore the Prophet *Jeremy* taught the Captive *Jews* in *Babylon*, to pray for the Peace of that City, (tho' it was the Metropolis of the Tyrant that insulted them, and the pompous Trophy of their Desolations,) for in the Peace of the City, they were to have Peace. In short, till we find, that our Blessed Lord approved, the Apostles of our Lord, or the *Primitive Christians* practis'd Resistance to their Lawful Governours by force, on any Occasion whatsoever; and till we find the Limitations of *Subjection*, as plain as the Precepts of it in sacred Writ, we must not understand them in a *restrained*, much less in a *reversed* Sense.

To advance towards a *Conclusion* of the whole Matter, it may justly be thought strange, that after the Revelation and Propagation of this Gospel-Doctrine, they that own themselves the Followers of *Jesus*, should act in a diametrical Opposition to those sacred *Institutes*. But the Matter was, in Order to the matchless Tragedy of this Day, the Scheme of Christian Instructions was entirely and impudently perverted, by a Set of Men in Masquerade, pretending to the most refined Sanctity, that avowed, That it was *lawful for Subjects to make a Covenant and Combination without the King, and to enter into a Bond of mutual Defence against their King, and all Persons whatsoever*: In Pursuance of which, Arms were taken up by them in Defence of His Majesty's Authority, (they said,) but they were against His Person: So easy a thing it is for some People to reconcile Contradictions, to prove Light and Darkness to be consistent at the same time, in the most intense Degree, and to twist Ropes of Sand into a firm Coherence.

The natural History of it is, That in the Neighbour-Kingdom, in the wicked *Long Parliament* Time, there appear'd (the Orthodox Clergy being thrust out) a parcel of *Pulpit-praters*, (for by the Name of Preachers they should not be call'd) who, like so many

Geneva

Geneva Bulls bellowed out continually nothing but Persecution, Persecution! Oh, the Cruelty and Knavery of the King! Oh the Idolatry of the Queen! Oh, the Wickedness of the Malignant Antichristian Army, against the *Cause* of God, and the Souls of true Saints, and the *Children of Grace*. By which the unthinking Multitude were made to believe, that there were no such Devils either in, or out of Hell, as the King and the Faithful Subjects who adher'd firmly to his Interests; and then for the Loyal Clergy, they got no better Names than the *Enemies of the Land*, and of the *Lord too*, and so the *Godly Party* were exhorted (by one of those Heralds of Roguery) to move against them, in these Words, *Vex the Midianites, abolish the Amalakites, or else they will vex you with their miles, as they have done hitherto. Let Popery find no Favour,* * (and that * Aug. is oft an useful Clamour,) *because it is Treasonable, and Prelacy as* ^{30.} *little because it is Tyrannical.* And at another Time, this same per^{1643.} Blade told the House of Commons, (in a Speech call'd a Sermon, ^{Cole-} ^{man.} too, at their taking the Solemn League) *That none but an Atheist, Papist, Rebel, Oppressor, or the desperate guilty Cavaliers could refuse the Covenant:* And accordingly had the Thanks of the House ceremoniously returned him, for visiting the World with such a fair Light of the Gospel. Another appearing before the same Audience, concerning the King's Friends, whom he called *Malignants*, advised, (in a strain quite contrary to our blessed Lord, the Prince of Peace, and his Apostles) *Cut them down with G. Walker, the Sword of Justice; Consume them as with Fire, that no* Jan. 29. *Root may spring again: Let their Mischief fall on their* 1644. *own Heads, that the Land may be eased, which a long time hath and yet doth groan under them as a heavy Curse.* A Champion of the Party, in a Treatise publish'd by him in those unhappy Days, plainly and positively asserteth, *Love's That, it was a very hurtful Opinion that People must not* England's *defend themselves by force of Arms against their King.* Dist. p. 7. The celebrated Parliamentary Chronicler affirmed, *That the English had as much cause to rejoyce for their Armies Conquest over his Majesty, as the Israelites for their Deliverance* *Vicar's* *from wicked Pharaoh and his Egyptians.* And all this *Chron.* and many more Passages of such fulsome Stuff must be ^{pt. 4.} received as the soundest Doctrine, and the *Venters* of it lookt upon

upon as the most faithful, painful, able, and zealous Advancers of the Truth. Tho' all this Jargon of theirs stood *Antipods* to the Precepts of *Subjection* given by our blessed Lord and his holy Apostles, the Instructions of the Fathers of the pure and primitive Ages of the Church, and the Sentiments of the most learned Divines of the Church, reformed from the *Romish* Errors.

And to deal ingenuously, The Fraternity in this Nation were nothing short (in their warm and rapturous Efforts,) of the *English* Firebrands; with respect to the Government and Dominion of the Sovereign Prince, and all under a Hypocritical Pretence of the greatest Piety and Devotion; insomuch, (that as my Author saith) in the Time of these rebellious Ferments, One of the *Bell-weabters* of the *Kirk*, in his Lectures upon *Aristotle*, in the *University*; taught his Scholars, *That Monarchical Government was unlawful*: Another

Foulis's Hist. preached, *That as it was God's Will, that the Primitive Church should confirm the Truth by Suffering*; so, now B. 3. Cap. 2. the Truth being confirmed, it was His Will that we should defend it by Action, in resisting of Tyrants, &c. And a from Lys. Nic.

Third prayed, *That God would carry through the good Cause against all his ENEMIES, especially Kings, Devils and Parliaments*. And long before these Times, (as if it had been to pave the Way to the matchless Villany perpetrated as on this Day) our own Historian telleth us, That in the New College of *St. Andrew's*, instead of

Divinity Lessons, that *Furioso Melvin*, that had push'd on the *Geneva* Mode of *Kirk* Government, tossed these Three politic Questions in the School: 1st. *Whether the Succession or Election of Kings were the better Form of*

Government? 2. *How far the King's Power extended?* And 3. *Whether Kings might be censured for abusing their Power, and disposessed by the Estates of the Kingdom?* And how such Questions were decided, the Deeds of the Party are the best Judges: And so the impartial World may determine, whether they were good Subjects, and consequently good Christians. And, in a Word, the Truth is, the most of their Actions were justified by the Strain, of the History of our Reformation. (I shall not attribute it to *John Knox*, since a most reverend Prelate hath deny'd it and ex-

P. 392. culpatd him:) In which, the Author acting him, affirmeth,
393.

meth, *That Subjects may not only oppose themselves to their Kings, whensoever they do any thing that opposeth God's Command; but also, that They may execute Judgment upon Them according to God's Law: So that if the King be either a Murderer, Adulterer or Idolater, He shall suffer according to God's Law, not as a King, but as an Offender.* Here is a nice Distinction betwixt the Office and Person of the King! It is a good Thing it seems, (according to the Proverb) *To have Two Strings to a Bow*; so that when they cannot hurt the King, they may punish the Offender. All this was not enough, but some time after the *Royal Martyr* was treated as a *Malefactor*, the Genius that conducteth Rebels, taught them the good Manners, to own all to the Face of C. II. His eldest Son, and Heir of His Diadem and Dignity, to whom it was said with bitter Impudence, *That the late King had built much Mischief to Religion all the Days of His Life.* And again, Sir, *there is much Sin upon the Throne of your Predecessors, who framed Mischief by a Law, such Laws which have been destructive to Religion, and grievous to the People of God*; from which, the Author of the Libel inferreth the Justification of the *Estate's* Proceeding against the late King. An ingenious Historian writing this Passage, saith; *If Elisha called a Judgment from Heaven upon the little Children that named him Bald-head in Contempt; What Punishment do these Bonteseus deserve, for throwing such Slanders upon a King that was eminently good and just.* But,

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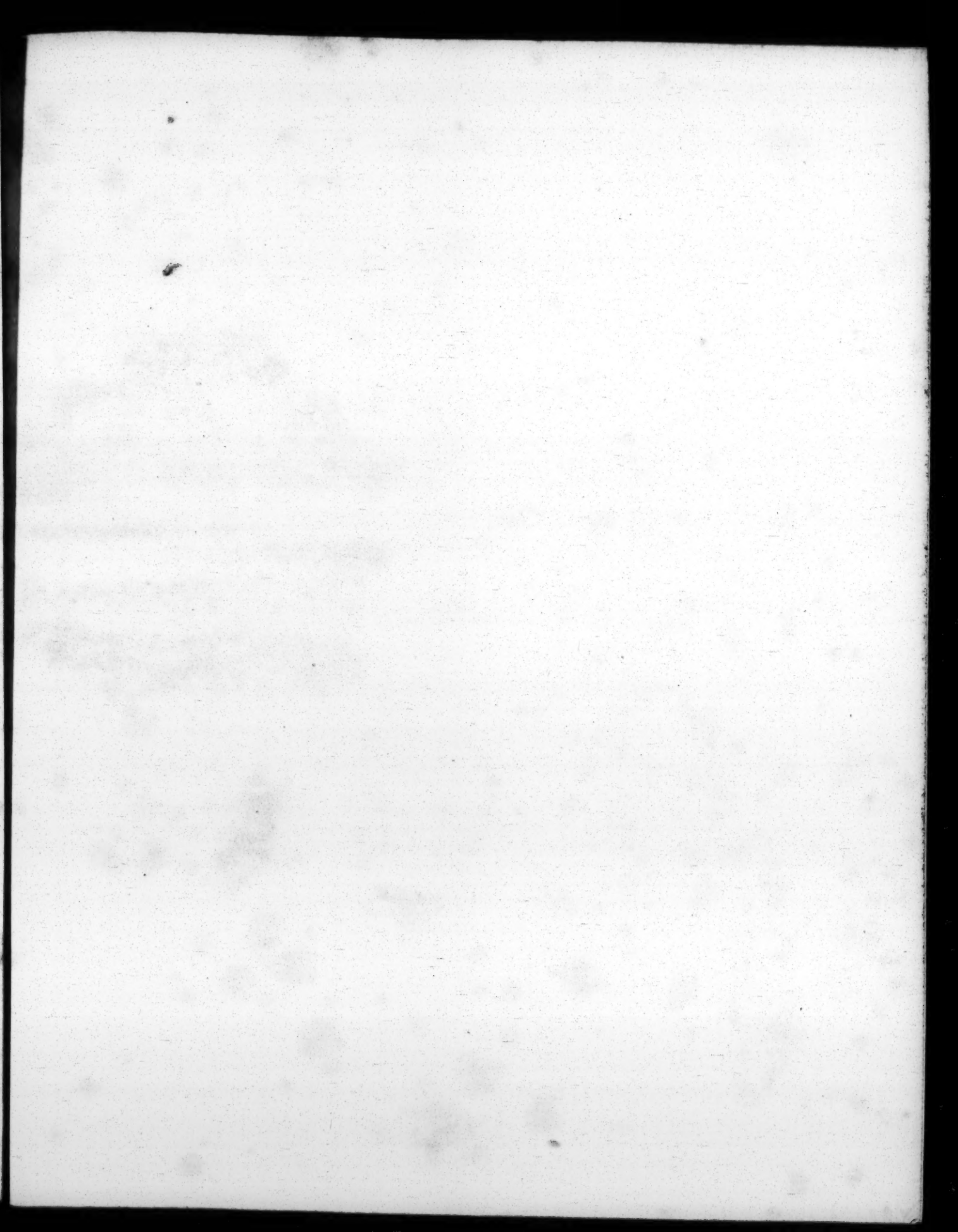
The Great Artifice that was used to advance the Royal Murther, was to Load, that sacred Prince, (whom they sacrificed to their Rage) with odious Names, so to expose him to the opprobrious Hatred of the furious People, who use to look no further than the Appearance and meer Outside of Things. This has been an old Device amongst the Devil's rebellious Disciples. *Abalom* had no more to do but charge his King and his Father with Male-Administrations, and Remissness in executing Law and Justice, and presently he wheedles the Body of the People out of their Allegiance, and leads them forth in Arms against their lawful Sovereign. *K. Solomon's* Government, is represented heavy and oppressive, and *Jeroboam* makes a Handle of it, to catch the Ten Tribes: So was our *Charles the First*, represented an Enemy to Religion, by these that had no Religion, and a Promoter of Popery, when at the
same

same Time *Europe* could not produce a firmer Enemy to the Errors of *Rome*, nor a more devout, resolute, or well instructed Protestant; and was declared a Traitor to the Common-Wealth of *England*, upon the impious Supposition of the People's being the Fountain or Original of Power.

But if the Doctrine of our Text, had been every where faithfully managed as it ought, with the unstable Multitude, it could not have failed to prevent in some Measure the manifold Mischiefs of this *Island*, and the grievous Stain, with which our Holy Religion was blackened, by *shedding the Blood of the Lord's Anointed*, who certainly in the Esteem of all wise, sober knowing Protestants, was the best of *Princes*, the best of *Christians*, and the best of *Men*. Great *Julius Caesar* was represented to the People of *Rome*, an intollerable and Tyrannical Emperor, by the Party that plotted and practis'd his barbarous Murder, and perhaps they that heard it, at first believed it to be a Truth; but when his bloody Robe was exposed unto the publick View, they that look't upon it, forgot the ill Names that had been given him, and pityed the hard Fate of that unfortunate Prince, and cursed and prosecuted his Murderers according to the Merit of the Crime: So was the matchless Monarch, whom we deplore, voted Tyrant, Traitor and Oppressor, by a Club of impious Varlets and Sacrilegious Blood Hounds (that had got themselves together under the Influences of the Devil) by the Name of a *High Court of Justice*, and the mischief was that the insatuated Multitude took it upon Trust, and so the Matter went on. Therefore, when we meet on this Occasion, to humble our selves in the Sight of God for the Guilt of the Innocent Royal Blood that was shed as upon this Day; (which perhaps still cryeth for Vengeance) It should move us to abhor and execrate these hateful Antichristian, Antimonarchical Principles, which laid the Foundation of the *Mischief* that we re-gate, and make us adhere firmly to the Doctrine of our Blessed Lord, His Holy Apostles, the Primitive Fathers, and the Ornaments of our happy Reformation; that so it may be well with us and our Posterity for ever. The Lord give us Wisdom and Understanding, &c. And to the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God; be Glory and Dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

F. I. N. F. S.





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